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ABSTRACT

As the United States entered the nineteenth century, it did so under the influence of the Second Great Awakening. This was the second wave of revivalism to sweep the nation, and it originated in the frontier as the Great Western Revival. One pertinent characteristic of the revival was its rhetoric, a rhetoric that was a prime expression of a native rhetorical theory born on the frontier. For the adherents of this frontier rhetoric, the primary criterion of success was its emotional effect on listeners. However, in the midst of frontier emotional rhetoric the Disciples of Christ came into existence. The Disciples of Christ originated as a movement dedicated to ushering in the postmillennial reign of Christ. This ultimate goal would be accomplished by evangelizing the nation and then the world. The movement grew to sizeable strength and influence with a rhetoric that was quite the opposite of frontier emotional rhetoric. Under the bold leadership of Alexander Campbell, the Disciples of Christ formulated a unique approach to conversion and conversion rhetoric. Empiricism, common sense, and lessons from classical rhetoric shaped Campbell, and Campbell shaped the disciples. The distinctive form of rationalism that characterized the movement set Campbell and his cohorts apart from most of their emotional contemporaries, and it enabled them to attract the unconverted and build strong cohesion among the converted. (HOD)

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The Rhetoric of Rationalism Versus the Rhetoric of Emotionalism on the American Frontier

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A paper presented to the
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The Rhetoric of Rationalism Versus the Rhetoric of Emotionalism on the American Frontier

As America entered the nineteenth century, it did so under the influence of the Second Great Awakening. This was the second wave of revivalism to sweep the nation (the first occurring in the colonies, 1730-1750), and it originated on the frontier as the Great Western Revival. One pertinent characteristic of the Revival was its rhetoric, a rhetoric which was a prime expression of a native rhetorical theory born on the frontier. According to Ernest G. Bormann, the new rhetoric was "little encumbered with knowledge of classical traditions" since it was the "outgrowth of the speaking of a widespread and highly influential, although largely uneducated, school of preachers and speakers."[1] Moreover, it "guided the study and practice of more speakers . . . than did classical theory or the rhetoric of Blair, Campbell, and Whately."[2]

The "ungenteel tradition" of rhetoric,[3] as Bormann labels it, was "rough and ready rhetoric,"[4] characterized by barnyard metaphor, sarcasm, ridicule, invective, virtuperation, and use of the vulgar speech of the audience. Organization was unimportant, and close reasoning was deprecated. Collins points out that "If a minister appealed to logic or used notes or prepared his sermon, he was only standing in the way of a direct confrontation with God."[5] Hence, delivery was impromptu, for only in this way could the speaker be open to the immediate inspiration of the supernatural. God spoke through the preacher in the inspiration of the moment, and, therefore, advanced, thoughtful preparation was useless.

Moreover, acceptable delivery focused on shouting and overt emotional expression. One Methodist circuit rider praised the preachers at a camp meeting because they spoke forth "in their loudest tone--and that was a very loud tone, for the lungs of the backwoods preachers were of the strongest. They

roared like lions--their tones were absolutely like peals of thunder."[6]

For the adherents of this frontier rhetoric the primary criterion of success was its emotional effect on listeners. A "good sermon" had a visible emotional impact on the hearers, and the goal was to bring them to a place where they "began to weep or cry out,. . . fell in a dead faint, or experienced the new birth."[7] This fundamental effects criterion worked hand-in-hand with the theological belief that conversion resulted only after agonizing emotional struggle in which God finally flooded the struggler's life with saving faith and grace. Hence, frontiermen generally focused on emotional upheaval as a central facet of religious rhetoric and personal conversion.

In such a setting one would expect that successful preachers would have to conform to the dominant rhetorical practice. However, in the midst of frontier emotionalistic rhetoric the Disciples of Christ came into existence, and this movement grew to sizable strength and influence with a rhetoric that was quite the opposite.

The Disciples of Christ originated in the first decade of the nineteenth century as a movement dedicated to ushering in the postmillennial reign of Christ. This ultimate goal would be accomplished by evangelizing the nation and then the world. Evangelization required the reunion of all Christians, and this required the restoration of the church to its apostolic purity in doctrine, polity, and life.[8] At first an obscure and outcast group, this movement grew to over one million adherents by 1900.[9] Many factors contributed to this success, and one of the most vital was preaching based on a concept of rhetoric that focused on a rational emphasis rather than emotional emphasis. Sidney Ahlstrom sums up this emphasis as he refers to the Disciples' efforts as "a remarkable projection into the American frontier scene of a

popular, down-to-earth form of eighteenth-century Christian rationalism. . . successfully propagated in the ethos of revivalism. . . ."[10]

Among several important Disciples' leaders one stands alone: Alexander Campbell. No one disputes the fact that it is to Campbell "first of all that Disciples of Christ look for the major principles of their origin."[11] Campbell was a man of many talents: author, editor, educator, debater, statesman; but, above all, he was a preacher. Moving from a rational base, Campbell and those whom he influenced presented the gospel on logical and intelligible grounds with an appeal to common sense. The Bible, containing the revelation of God, was clear and understandable. It was written for ordinary people, and they could understand it without additional revelation or miraculous intervention of the Holy Spirit.

In the pages that follow we will examine the philosophical roots of Campbell's rhetoric and then look at his concept of preaching, contrasting it at various points with the rhetoric prevailing in his culture during his lifetime.

Roots of Campbell's Rhetoric

Alexander Campbell was born September 12, 1788, in County Antrim, Ireland. His father, Thomas, an ordained minister in the Seceder Presbyterian Church and a school teacher, attended Glasgow University (1783-1786) where he pursued the course in the faculty of Arts.[12] Following Alexander's early education in primary school and in an academy conducted by his uncles, Thomas continued the boy's education under his personal supervision. He hoped that his son would enter the university, and so he guided him in a rigorous discipline of study. Alexander's education under his father was basically classical, including Latin and Greek classics, French, Greek, English literature, and

philosophy.[13] In terms of his theory of preaching, perhaps the most significant part of his education consisted of the study of the philosophies of John Locke and Thomas Reid.

In his Essay Concerning Human Understanding Locke denied the theory that man is born with a mind possessing truth which is to be drawn out by reasoning. He asserted that the mind is a blank tablet at birth and that ideas and knowledge come to it basically through the five senses. Thus, the mind is reliable in dealing with facts but unreliable in dealing with metaphysical speculations about ultimate questions:

> One obvious inference, and the one that Locke and Campbell made, is that religious truth cannot be reached by human reason; it has to be mediated to us by revelation. Moreover, that revelation must come in a form that the five senses can apprehend--through words and deeds that can be witnessed.[14]

In The Reasonableness of Christianity Locke asserted that Christianity was a revelation fully in accord with reason. When disclosed to human reason, human reason could grasp it. Locke also held that the only source of religious authority was the New Testament, and reason was the only arbiter of the source. A reasonable approach to the New Testament would reveal the knowledge necessary for salvation. The aspects of Locke's thought most pertinent in influencing Campbell are summed up by Garrison and DeGroot:

> that religious ideas, like all others, can come through rational reflection upon materials received through the senses; that feelings and the mystical consciousness give no valid religious knowledge; that, since man cannot know God through direct testimony of the senses, knowledge of God can come only through revelation, which itself must come originally in clear sensory form; that faith is an intellectual act, the belief of testimony given by revelation; . . .[15]

To Alexander Campbell, John Locke was "the great Christian philosopher."[16]

Locke's philosophy had been carried to different extremes by Hume and Berkeley, Hume holding a skepticism that asserted that the only reality was the

material and Berkeley a subjective idealism that the only reality was mind. Thomas Reid, professor at Glasgow (1764-1796), reacted to these extremes by setting forth a view of reality which consisted of both matter and mind. In doing so, he reemphasized Locke's original position and referred to his philosophy as "common sense philosophy." Since skepticism and rationalism were widespread in Europe, "Reid's school was about the only current British philosophy which gave hearty support to orthodox Christian faith."[17] Most Disciple historians attribute to Reid a profound influence on Thomas Campbell, and it is quite likely that his influence was equally great on Alexander since Reid's philosophy was still popular at Glasgow when Alexander enrolled in 1808. That both Locke and Reid are given as strong influences on the Campbells and their preaching can be understood by assuming that the Campbells probably were introduced to Locke by Reid and looked at Lockean philosophy from the perspective of the common sense school.

In 1807 Thomas Campbell immigrated to America and sent for his family the following year. Due to shipwreck, the Campbell family spent the latter part of 1808 and the early part of 1809 in Glasgow. On November 8, 1808, Alexander fulfilled his father's dream for him by enrolling in Glasgow University. According to one biographer the bulk of his studies there were taken under Professor John Young (Greek), Professor George Jardine (logic, belles lettres, and rhetoric), and Dr. Ure in experimental philosophy. Jardine and Young exerted the strongest influence on young Campbell.[18]

In logic Jardine taught the Dialectics of Aristotle. His method consisted of:

> . . . a short account of Aristotle's logic, the origin of language, the principles of general grammar, the elements of taste and criticism, and the rules of composition. Also a part of the course included the study of Rhetoric with Quintilian as

a textbook. Jardine had portions of this book printed for the benefit of his students.[19]

In addition to his morning lecture Jardine met with his class in the afternoon to examine them orally on the lecture. The students wrote weekly themes on subjects from the lectures, read their themes to the class, and received comments from classmates and professor. There were also public speaking exercises in class with criticism. Such a procedure suggests that Jardine followed the classical pattern of instruction in logic and rhetoric and leads to the probable conclusion that Alexander's formal education in these areas was classical.

Professor Young, also an influence on Campbell, has been called "the profound grammarian and master of elocution" by Campbell's close friend and biographer.[20] Ellis makes a case for the conclusion that Campbell's enthusiasm for and regular use of Greek in his speaking was the result of Young's influence and demonstrates that Campbell often used Greek in his sermons "and more especially in his debates."[21]

Another possible influence in shaping Alexander Campbell's rhetorical concepts was the library at Glasgow. In 1807 Dr. William Hunter gave the library a large collection of books including numerous classical sources, such as Gorgias of Leontinum, Antiphone, Thrasymachus, Proagoras, Isaeus, Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian. The excellence of this collection is demonstrated in that R. C. Jebb used it as a source for his work, The Attic Orators from Antiphone to Isaeus.[22] To what extent Campbell read these works, if indeed he read them, cannot be established with certainty. However, that he was familiar with some of them is evident in a quotation from a sermon preached shortly before his death in 1866. The sermon was taken down in shorthand by C. V. Segar, and is reproduced in a book by Mrs. Selina Huntington Campbell.

Campbell refers to speaking with the tongues of men and angels in First Corinthians 13, and says:

> In all our readings, in Grecian and Roman lore, we find scarcely anything which does not lead us, directly or indirectly, to that all-absorbing subject of oratory or eloquence. . . . We see in ancient history so many orators receiving the highest honors within the gift of the people. In the Demosthean and Ciceronian schools, no class of men shone more billiantly, and none were placed more conspicuously before the public, than the orators. It was the magic eloquence of the . . . orator that shook the very thrones of Greece and Rome,. . .[23]

The classical influence on Campbell's preaching rhetoric is evident in his sermon structure, which comes from the medieval preaching heritage. This approach was "a product of Aristotelian logic applied to the preaching orders--an outgrowth of Roman Catholic scholasticism."[24] By this method a preacher first "opened" the text in its context; then he "divided" the text, stating valuable points of doctrine from the divisions as he unfolded them; finally he "applied" the text to his listeners (sometimes called the "uses" of the text).

With regard to the strong classical influence, Stevenson says that we should not be surprised. The Disciple fathers gained their education in European universities; their "homiletical roots [were deep] in the soil of Medieval Europe."[25] The universities of the old world were steeped in classicism, and the Campbells bore the marks of this through their preaching careers.

Campbell's Concept of Preaching

Alexander Campbell's concept of preaching, a concept which shaped the preaching of the whole movement, was founded on his concept of faith and salvation. Basically, his philosophical commitments "determined his understanding of faith as the mind's assent to credible testimony,"[26] and this emphasis was a strong influence which distinguished "his movement from the prevailing currents of emotional revivalism."[27]

Campbell's concept can be summarized as follows: salvation depends upon faith; faith depends upon testimony; testimony depends upon facts; therefore, salvation depends upon facts. Campbell believed that "the knowledge of facts is the most useful of all knowledge,"[28] and he defined a fact as a deed accomplished in action.[29] Christianity was based upon historical facts, upon events which transpired in history, and its evidences were subject to examination and rational judgment. Therefore, Christianity consisted basically of facts to be believed, as he said in debating Robert Owen, "The record of the testimony [of the Christian facts] is the object of faith."[30] So, the facts of the Gospel consisted of the deeds performed by God through Jesus Christ for the benefit of humanity:

> He died for our sins, He was buried in our grave, He rose from the dead for our justification, and is ascended to the skies to prepare mansions for his disciples, comprehend the whole, or all the heads of the chapters which narrate the love of God, and display his moral majesty and glory to our view.[31]

The central fact, then, was the Lordship of Jesus Christ.

The facts of the Gospel were presented to hearers through testimony, and faith resulted from accepting those facts. Religious faith was not different from other kinds of faith except that the testimony believed is the testimony of God, not of man. Any difference was not in the nature of faith but in the nature of the testimony, "for the confidence we have in [God's] testimony, is superior to that we repose in the testimony of men."[32] As belief in testimony, faith was native to man's experience, and religious faith was available to all who examine the evidence. Campbell regarded preaching as a matter of stating, proving, and illustrating the facts of the gospel.[33] The subject matter of preaching closely followed the method, for to Campbell, "only the facts, the testimony, the word, believed and obeyed, comprised the legitimate subject

matter of Christian preaching."[34]

Since the "facts of the Gospel" were contained in the New Testament, the Bible was ultimate authority for Campbell. Furthermore, he asserted that the Bible gives us "the voice of God, which is always the voice of reason."[35] The Bible contained the reasonable revelation of God, and the intellectual act of accepting the facts of this revelation constituted faith. This was an *a priori* principle which dominated his use of the Bible as the source of themes and supports for preaching. The enlightening of man's reason was for Campbell "God's chartered way to the heart."[36] On the basis of these views of scripture and of man, Campbell admonished young preachers:

> All evidences are addressed to the higher and more noble faculties of man. The understanding, and not the passions is addressed; and therefore an appeal to the latter, before the former is enlightened, is as unphilosophic as it is unscriptural. . . . Now in preaching Jesus arguments are to be used--and these are found in the testimony of God. To declare that testimony, and to adduce the evidences which support it, is to proclaim the gospel. . . .[37]

Following Campbell's precepts on preaching, scores of "zealous preachers brought lucid and simple sermons to hundreds of frontier communities," and the disciples grew rapidly.[38]

Campbell's Concept of Conversion

The goal of preaching was the listeners' conversion to Christ. Conversion as commonly conceived among the adherents of revivalism had a common motif--"One began his life as a sinner and remained in that awful condition until he experienced the saving power of the Lord."[39] Following the path of the ungenteel rhetoric described earlier, preachers sought to take the sinner through all the inner recesses of his sin and make him aware of the misery caused by sin. The rhetoric sought to intensify the misery so that the sinner would turn to God and open his life to the miraculous operation of the Holy

Spirit. "Men of the time believed in hard conversions. They thought that if a man had been regenerated and his soul cleansed from evil he should know that something extraordinary had happened to him."[40] Subjective experience was central to this concept of conversion.

So, when one came under the conviction of the Holy Spirit, he might suffer intense misery for a period of time until he received the subjective assurance of salvation. Assurance was manifest as a strongly emotional experience, and thus the preacher sought to arouse emotions as evidence of the Spirit's work. With "tears running down his cheeks" the preacher exhorted, prayed, shouted, and scathingly denounced the listener.[41] As sinners came under conviction, repented, and professed faith, they wept aloud, cried out for mercy, sometimes fell prostrate on the ground, and shouted out their assurance. Sometimes, to express their new-found happiness they sang, shouted, and walked the benches to shake hands with and embrace their brothers.

Campbell was not the least hesitant to attack revivalists for such practices. On one occasion he wrote:

> The machinery of modern revivals is not divine, but human. It is certainly delusive. They are undoubtedly deceived who repose the slightest confidence in it. The spirit of the crusades is in it--the spirit of fanaticism is in it--the spirit of delusion is in it. The Spirit of God is not in it, else he was not in the Apostles, for he taught them no such schemes--no such means of catching men. This is a bait which was never put by Christ's fishermen on the evangelical hook.[42]

A common practice by revivalists was the use of the mourner's bench or anxious seat to which sinners were invited to come to "seek salvation." Campbell accused revivalists of substituting "mourning benches and anxious seats for the Lord's ordinances" and condemned them for calling sinners to come to the bench to be prayed for rather than "beseeching them to be reconciled to God, and to come to God's ordinances for comfort and deliverance." Preachers who practiced these things could not "possibly speak by the inspiration of the

Spirit, or be a chosen vessel to harbinger the day of the Lord."[43]

The Disciples' approach to conversion stood in stark contrast to revivalists' practices. In 1832 Campbell published a series of articles detailing the proper Biblical approach to preaching for conversion. He analyzed the sermons in the book of Acts in detail, and among his conclusions was the claim that Peter's sermon in Acts 2 "was all logic, reason, point, testimony, proof. There was no declamation, noise, tinseling, painting, and mincing in the set phrase of the rhetoricians of the world."[44]

The model sermon which Campbell derived from the apostolic practice consisted of five phases: first, the proposition, "Jesus is the Messiah, the Son of God;" second, exposition and/or illustration of the principal terms of the proposition, i.e., Jesus, Messiah, Son of God; third, prove the proposition by the law, prophets, John the Baptist, the Apostles, miracles, prophecies, "labors and characters of the first heralds;" fourth, apply the proposition, i.e., persuade sinners to accept Jesus as Messiah and submit to Him; and, firth, issue the invitation to accept and submit.[45] The Holy Spirit did not directly infuse the mind or heart of either preacher or listener; instead, the Spirit operated through the testimony. Moreover, "people were to be looked upon as rational and capable of being appealed to by reason and argument, whose dignity ought not to be subjected to disheveled evangelists,. . ."[46]

Given their concepts of faith, facts, and testimony, it follows that Disciples would develop an "objective" plan of salvation in keeping with the former concepts. Walter Scott, a younger colleague of Campbell, was the one who crystalized this facet of Disciples conversion rhetoric. Scott came to America from Scotland in 1818. He had an educational background similar to that of the Campbells and was drawn to them and their efforts. In 1827, Scott

made his great discovery of this plan of conversion in contrast to the subjectivism of revivalists. Stevenson summarizes this plan in his biography of Scott:

> After the evidence of Jesus' Messiahship was presented, first came faith, or believing the evidence; then followed in logical order, repentence, baptism, the remission of sins, the gift of the Holy Spirit, and life eternal. There were three things for man to do: believe, repent, be baptized. There were three things that God, through Christ, promised to do: remit sins, bestow the Holy Spirit, grant eternal life.[47]

Ahlstrom points out that Scott's plan for conversion was "Campbell's popular theology shaped to peculiarly practical, simple, and matter-of-fact conceptions."[48]

Furthermore, Scott condensed his plan to a simpler, convenient form known as the "five-finger exercise." The hand became a visual aid as a host of preachers and church members demonstrated the plan beginning with the thumb, "faith," proceeding with each finger representing "repentence, baptism, remission of sins," and concludng with the little finger, which was "gift of the Holy Spirit and eternal life." Conversion was that simple; scores of Christians carried it across the frontier; "western folk liked its directness;"[49] and the rhetoric of assurance-of-salvation-through-immediate-obedience met with significant success. Ahlstrom points out that "due especially to the dynamic leadership of Campbell and the evangelistic success of Scott, the Disciples entered a period of dramatic growth."[50] Having begun with about thirty members in their first organization, the Christian Association of Washington (Pennsylvania), in 1809, the Disciples numbered about 118,000 by 1850 and were the sixth largest Protestant group in America; 400,000 by 1875; and 1,120,000 by 1900.[51]

Consistent with his rational approach to preaching for conversion, Campbell strongly opposed the excessive emotionalism which characterized the delivery of the revivalists. He viewed their practices as "deeds of violence against reason, revelation, and the Holy Spirit,"[52] as deception, and as violating the basic sanity of Christianity. Moreover, he described it as roaring and screaming "in the midst of great animal excitement."[53] Inspiration for such preachers did not come from God but was "kindled from the noise they create," and Campbell rejected it with a touch of satire:

> Often I have seen a preacher try to get his mind abroach until he began to snuff the breeze like a whale snorting in the North Atlantic Ocean. It is more easy to bring a seventy-four gun ship into action in a gale of wind, than to get the mind to bear upon the text, until the nostrils catch the corner of a volume of air, and sneeze it out like a leviathan in the deep. I have seen other preachers who can strike fire no other way than by the friction of their hands, and an occasional clap, resembling a peal of distant thunder. In this holy paroxism of clapping, rubbing, sneezing, and roaring, the mind is fairly on the way, and the tongue in full gallop, which, like a race horse, runs the swifter the less weight it carries.[54]

Campbell's opposition to this rhetorical practice was so strong that on one occasion he condemned it as responsible for "the frequent apostacies, backslidings, and public scandals brought upon the Christian name. . . ."[55]

One must not conclude that Campbell and the Disciples rejected the role of emotion or feeling in the preaching and conversion process. Campbell saw a close relationship between reason and emotion. He asserted that unless religion reached the heart and roused the feelings, it was "a mere phantom."[56] However, feelings were the effect and not the cause of faith. The revivalist reversed this principle, making "religion. . .the fruit of excitement, rather than the root and reason of it."[57] Faith began with the understanding, and only as a result did feeling come into the scene to play a carefully circumscribed role. "The understanding is, and must be addressed, that the heart

may be taken," Campbell asserted, and he went on to insist that "unless the heart or the affection of men are elevated to the admiration and love of God, and fixed upon Him, all religion is a name, a pretense, vain, and useless."[58] Perhaps one reason why extant sermons from the first generation contain little emotional appeal rests in the role of exhortation, sometimes performed by the preacher and sometimes by another person. Whereas "a preacher proclaims facts and proves them by witnesses;. . .an exhorter selects duties, and recommends and enforces them by motives," Campbell wrote.[59] According to Scott, the preacher would "strike at the head," and the exhorter would "strike at the heart."[60] Exhortations apparently were spontaneous and, hence, not preserved. Therefore, we have little insight into the specific nature of emotional appeal.[61]

Conclusion

The Disciples of Christ budded and blossomed forth in the frontier soil of the Great Western Revival's emotionalistic rhetorical approach to conversion. Under the bold leadership of Alexander Campbell, the Disciples formulated a unique approach to conversion and conversion rhetoric. Locke's empiricism, Reid's "common sense," and lessons from classical rhetoric shaped Campbell, and Campbell shaped the Disciples. The distinctive form of rationalism which characterized the movement set Campbell and his cohorts apart from most of their emotionalistic contemporaries, and it enabled them to attract the unconverted and build strong cohesion among the converted. Thus, the Disciples of Christ "added a distinguished chapter to America's. . .frontier life of the 19th century."[62]

Endnotes

[1]Ernest G. Bormann, "The Rhetorical Theory of William Henry Milburn," Speech Monographs, 36 (March 1969), p. 28.

[2]Ibid., p. 29.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Ibid., p. 32.

[5]Edward M. Collins, Jr., "The Rhetoric of Sensation Challenges the Rhetoric of the Intellect: An Eighteenth Century Controversy," in Preaching in American History: Selected Issues in the American Pulpit, 1630-1967, ed. DeWitte Holland (Nashville and New York: Abingdon Press, 1969), p. 115. Although Collins refers to rhetoric of the First Great Awakening, this characteristic carried over to the Second Great Awakening.

[6]William Henry Milburn, Pioneers, Preachers, and People (New York, 1860), p. 416, cited by Bormann, p. 35.

[7]Bormann, p. 36.

[8]For an analysis of the Disciples of Christ from this perspective, see Carl Wayne Hensley, "Rhetorical Vision and the Persuasion of a Historical Movement: The Disciples of Christ in Nineteenth Century American Culture," Quarterly Journal of Speech, 61 (October 1975), pp. 249-64.

[9]Winfred Ernest Garrison and Alfred T. DeGroot, The Disciples of Christ: A History, rev. ed. (St. Louis: The Bethany Press, 1958), p. 359.

[10]Sidney E. Ahlstrom, A Religious History of the American People, 2 vols. (Garden City, N.J.: Image Books, 1975), I: 547.

[11]Granville T. Walker, Preaching in the Thought of Alexander Campbell (St. Louis: The Bethany Press, 1954), p. 12.

[12]Lester G. McAllister, Thomas Campbell: Man of the Book (St. Louis: The Bethany Press, 1954), p. 26.

[13]Garrison and DeGroot, p. 125. See also, Robert Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, 2 vols. (Cincinnati: R. W. Caroll and Co., 1872), I: 33-34.

[14]Dwight E. Stevenson, Disciple Preaching in the First Generation (Nashville: The Disciples of Christ Historical Society, 1969), p. 28. Hereinafter referred to as Disciple Preaching.

[15]Garrison and DeGroot, p. 55.

16Stevenson, Disciple Preaching, p. 29.

[17]McAllister, p. 27.

[18]Richardson, I: 131.

[19]Carroll B. Ellis, The Controversial Speaking of Alexander Campbell (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1949), p. 74. Ellis draws this information from Murray, Memories of the Old College of Glasgow, and Chambers, A Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen.

[20]Richardson, I: 131-32.

[21]Ellis, p. 77.

[22]Ibid., p. 79.

[23]Selina Huntington Campbell, Home Life and Reminiscences of Alexander Campbell (St. Louis: John Burns, Publisher, 1882), p. 36.

[24]Stevenson, Disciple Preaching, p. 22.

[25]Ibid., p. 25.

[26]Ahlstrom, I: 544.

[27]Ibid.

[28]The Millennial Harbinger, 16 (1845): 320. Campbell published this monthly journal during the years 1830-1866. Hereinafter referred to as M.H.

[29]M.H., 4 (1833): 340.

[30]Alexander Campbell and Robert Owen, Debate on the Evidences of Christianity, 2 vols. (Bethany: Printed and Published by A. Campbell, 1829), I: 228.

[31]M.H., 6 (1835): 340-41. Cited by Stevenson, Disciple Preaching, p. 85.

[32]The Christian Baptist, I (1823-1824): 58-59. Campbell published this monthly journal during the years 1823-1830. Hereinafter referred to as C.B.

[33]M.H., 6 (1835): 351.

[34]Walker, p. 56.

[35]C.B., 1 (1823-1824): 149.

[36]M.H., 7(1836): 34.

[37]C.B., 7 (1829-1830): 184.

[38]Ahlstrom, I: 548.

[39]Dickson D. Bruce, Jr., And They All Sang Hallelujah: Plain-Folk Camp-

Meeting Religion, 1800-1845 (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1974), p. 63.

[40]Francis Lea McCurdy, Stump, Bar, and Pulpit: Speechmaking on the Missouri Frontier (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1969), p. 159.

[41]Ibid., p. 160.

[42]M.H., 11 (1840): 170. Cited by Stevenson, Disciple Preaching, p. 63.

[43]M.H., 13 (1842): 335.

[44]M.H., 3 (1832): 310. Cited by Stevenson, Disciple Preaching, p. 95.

[45]M.H., 3 (1832): 231. Cited by Stevenson, Disciple Preaching, p. 95.

[46]John L. Morrison, "A Rational Voice Crying in an Emotional Wilderness," West Virginia History, 34 (January 1973): 139.

[47]Stevenson, Voice of the Golden Oracle (St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1946), pp. 62-63.

[48]Ahlstrom, I: 545.

[49]Ibid., p. 546.

[50]Ibid., p. 548.

[51]Garrison and DeGroot, p. 359. In 1832 the Disciples movement merged with the "Christian" movement which had begun in Kentucky in the early 1800's under the leadership of Barton W. Stone.

[52]M.H., 2 (1831): 215.

[53]M.H., 14 (1843): 464.

[54]C.B., 7 (1829-1830): 46.

[55]M.H., 11 (1840): 168.

[56]M.H., 10 (1839): 12.

[57]Ibid., p. 35.

[58]C.B., 7 (1829-1830): no page number given. Cited by Stevenson, Disciple Preaching, p. 76.

[59]M.H., (1835): 487. Cited by Stevenson, Disciple Preaching, p. 97.

[60]William Baxter, Life of Elder Walter Scott (Cincinnati: Bosworth, Chase and Hall, 1874), p. 149. Cited by Stevenson, Disciple Preaching, p. 97. Stevenson relates an eyewitness account of Scott in the exhorter's role, pp. 98-99.

[61]This claim, that the sermons provide little insight into emotional appeal, appears to be accurate when we examine the rhetoric from the perspective of this paper. However, when we examine the rhetoric from the perspective of fantasy themes and rhetorical vision, as I have done elsewhere (see N.8), we gain important insights into the strong emotional appeal inherent in it.

For anthologies of sermons and addresses demonstrating the rhetoric see Alexander Campbell, Popular Lectures and Addresses (Philadelphia: James Challen & Son, 1863); W. T. Moore, ed., The Living Pulpit of the Christian Church: a Series of Discourses, Doctrinal and Practical, from Representative Men among the Disciples of Christ (St. Louis: Christian Publishing Co., 1867); James M. Mathes, ed., The Western Preacher (Bedford, Indiana: Published for the Author, 1865); and, F. L. Rowe, compiler, Pioneer Sermons and Addresses, 3rd ed. (Cincinnati: F. L. Rowe Publisher, 1925).

[62]Morrison, p. 140.